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Message Text

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-20 SP-03 EB-11 CIAE-00 INR-11

NSAE-00 RSC-01 L-03 CPR-02 PM-07 SAM-01 NSC-07 M-02

OPR-02 PA-04 SY-04 USIA-15 PRS-01 A-01 USSS-00 IO-14

DRC-01 /125 W
---------- 017780
P 040904Z SEP 74
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4342

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 11452

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR JA US
SUBJ: BILATERAL MEETINGS WITH JAPAN

REF: STATE 186657

1. I HAVE CANVASSED A NUMBER OF SENIOR FOREIGN OFFICE OFFICIALS (VICE-MIN TOGO, FONOFF ADVISOR AND FORMER VICE-MIN HOGEN, DEPUTY MIN TSURUMI AND AMERICAN AFFAIRS DIRECTOR YAMAZAKI) TO EXPLORE THEIR PERSONAL VIEWS ON THE SERIES OF TOP-LEVEL US-JAPAN BILATERAL MEETINGS EXPECTED IN NEXT FEW MONTHS. I PARTICULARLY SOUGHT THEIR THOUGHTS AS TO THE OBJECTIVES JAPAN WAS LIKELY TO HAVE AT EACH SUCH MEETING AND WHETHER SUCH MEETINGS WERE LIKELY TO BE APPROACHED ON THEIR SIDE AS INDEPENDENT EVENTS OR PART OF A SINGLE PROCESS. IT WAS CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD ON BOTH SIDES THAT VIEWS WOULD BE CONSIDERED PERSONAL AND NON-BINDING.

2. THESE JAPANESE OFFICIALS HAD MUCH CLEARER IDEA OF WHAT KIMURA MIGHT WANT TO TAKE UP IN MEETING WITH KISSINGER THAN OTHER EVENTS, PERHAPS BECAUSE KIMURA LIKELY TO FOLLOW BRIEFING MATERIAL THEY THEMSELVES WOULD BE PREPARING FOR HIM. (THEY WERE DISCREET ENOUGH
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NOT TO MENTION WHAT I HAVE LEARNED FROM OTHER SOURCES

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CONCERNING TANAKA'S DISDAIN FOR STAFF LEVEL BRIEFINGS AND CANNED SCENARIOS.) MOREOVER, THERE ARE LARGE NUMBER OF OBVIOUS POLITICAL ITEMS FOR FONMIN-SECRETARY TO REVIEW TOGETHER ON EVE OF UNGA. STAFF LEVELS IN FONOFF HAVE PREPARED A LONG LIST OF TOPICS FOR SEPTEMBER 19 KIMURA-SECRETARY MEETING WHICH HOPEFULLY WILL BE BOILED DOWN IN NEXT FEW DAYS AND TRANSMITTED TO US EITHER HERE OR IN WASHINGTON. (WITHOUT ANY PROMPTING FROM US IT APPEARS THAT FONOFF MAY HAVE IN MIND A MORE EXTENSIVE DISCUSSION THAN ANYTHING CONTEMPLATED ON SEVENTH FLOOR.) THEIR LIST WILL CERTAINLY INCLUDE:

A. DATES FOR PRESIDENTIAL VISIT TO JAPAN AND CONFIRMATION PRESIDENT WILL BE PREPARED TO ANNOUNCE THOSE DATES AT CONCLUSION OF PM-PRESIDENT MEETING SEPTEMBER 21 (UNLESS ANNOUNCED EARLIER--REF TOKYO 11267). KIMURA MAY WANT TO EXCHANGE PRELIMINARY VIEWS WITH SECRETARY ON OBJECTIVES BOTH SIDES HAVE FOR THE SUMMIT.

B. INVITATION TO SECRETARY TO VISIT JAPAN ANYTIME HIS SCHEDULE WILL PERMIT PLUS INQUIRY WHETHER THE SECRETARY PLANS TO ACCOMPANY PRESIDENT FORD TO JAPAN. THEY OBVIOUSLY HOPE SO.

C. JAPAN-ROK RELATIONS (SEE PARA 6 BELOW).

3. PM-PRESIDENT MEETING SEPTEMBER 21. WHILE OFFICIALS CONTACTED WERE QUITE CERTAIN MAIN PURPOSE IN TANAKA'S VIEW WAS SIMPLY TO RE-ESTABLISH PERSONAL CONTACT AND NO SPECIFIC AGREEMENTS WOULD BE EXPECTED (OTHER THAN FIXING OR CONFIRMING DATES FOR PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO JAPAN), THEY THOUGHT THERE WERE TWO TOPICS OF INTERNAL POLITICAL IMPORTANCE AND VERY MUCH ON PM'S MIND (TO WHICH I AM ADDING A THIRD):

A. AVAILABILITY OF US FOOD, ESPECIALLY FEEDGRAINS. I SUGGESTED FONOFF PEOPLE TRY TO MAKE SURE THAT PM AVOIDS FORMULATING A REQUEST IN A WAY THAT COULD CREATE CONGRESSIONAL PROBLEMS FOR PRESIDENT, I.E. AVOID ASKING FOR ASSURANCES THERE WILL BE NO EXPORT LICENSING BUT CONFIDENTIAL

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FRAME IT AS A REQUEST THAT PRESIDENT AND EXECUTIVE BRANCH AS WHOLE WILL DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO AVOID. (PM IN HOSPITAL FOR CHECK-UP THIS WEEK SO I'LL NOT BE CONTACTING HIM ON THIS.)

B. ENERGY. THEY THOUGHT PM WOULD REAFFIRM JAPAN'S INTEREST AND WILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE WITH US AND OTHER CONSUMERS IN ECG. THEY THOUGHT PM WOULD WANT

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LATEST US ASSESSMENT OF OUTLOOK FOR OIL PRICES AND MIGHT INQUIRE AS TO FEASIBILITY OF MORE RAPID COMMUNICATION ABOUT PRICES AMONG CONSUMERS TO AVOID SALAMI-TACTICS BY PRODUCERS. JAPANESE INTEREST IN US COLLABORATION IN DEVELOPMENT OF SIBERIAN ENERGY RESOURCES MIGHT ALSO BE CITED BUT WITHOUT SEEKING A PRESIDENTIAL COMMITMENT. US-JAPAN ENERGY R& D LIKELY BE MENTIONED IN APPROVING TERMS BUT WITHOUT SPECIFICS.

C. MOST OF MY CANVASSING TOOK PLACE PRIOR TO LATEST FLARE-UP IN JAPAN-ROK RELATIONS; IF, AS SEEMS LIKELY, THEY REMAIN HIGHLY STRAINED WHEN TANAKA SEES PRESIDENT, REFERENCE TO THIS PROBLEM WOULD SEEM INEVITABLE AND EVEN CONSPICUOUS BY ITS ABSENCE (SEE ALSO PARA 6 BELOW).

4. PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO JAPAN. FONOFF OFFICIALS SEEMED REASONABLY SURE JAPAN LOOKED ON THIS AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO REAFFIRM THE IMPORTANCE OF THE US-JAPAN SECURITY RELATIONSHIP, ECONOMIC TIES, AND POLITICAL COOPERATION. THEY BELIEVE REAFFIRMATION OF OUR CLOSE TIES IN THESE THREE AREAS SHOULD BE THE OBJECTIVE RATHER THAN ATTEMPTING TO RESOLVE BILATERAL PROBLEMS (THEY FEEL, AS I INCREASINGLY DO, THERE ARE EITHER NO ISSUES OF SUFFICIENT WEIGHT TO MERIT AN EFFORT AT SUMMIT TO REACH AN AGREEMENT OR SUCH ISSUES AS ARE PRESENT ARE TOO TECHNICAL TO DEAL WITH AT SUMMUT, E.G. BILATERAL FISH PROBLEMS). THEY THOUGHT THE LARGE NUMBER OF GLOBAL ISSUES CONFRONTING JAPAN AND THE US WOULD COME UP NATURALLY IN PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS BUT THEY DID NOT LOOK UPON PRESIDENT'S VISIT AS OCCASION TO TRY TO BREAK NEW GROUND.

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5. SOCIAL AND/OR PROTOCOL EVENTS ANTICIPATED FOR SUMMIT WILL AS MINIMUM INCLUDE CALL ON AND LUNCH WITH EMPEROR, DINNER HOSTED BY PM AND ONE BY ME. IT ALSO IS THE PRACTICE THAT THE VISITING CHIEF OF STATE MEET TWICE WITH THE PM, ONCE NEAR BEGINNING AND ONCE NEAR END OF VISIT. FONOFF THOUGHT THREE DAYS WOULD BE MINIMUM TIME PRESIDENT SHOULD STAY IN JAPAN AND THIS WOULD NOT BE SUFFICIENT TIME TO TRAVEL OUTSIDE TOKYO. (THEY EMPHASIZED THEY WOULD BE DELIGHTED IF PRESIDENT COULD SPEND ANOTHER 24-36 HOURS WHICH WOULD PERMIT VISIT TO KYOTO, NOTING POSSIBILITY OF RETURNING TO US DIRECT FROM OSAKA. THE JAPANESE SEEM TO LIKE THIS ROUTINE HAVING USED IT WITH GOOD RESULTS IN EARLIER U.S. CABINET MISSIONS TO JAPAN.)

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6. JAPAN-ROK RELATIONS. THIS PROBLEM WAS CITED BY FONOFF OFFICIALS IN CONTEXT OF EVERY PROSPECTIVE HIGH-LEVEL US-JAPAN MEETING THIS FALL. IT WAS EVIDENT TO ME, EVEN PRIOR TO ESCALATION OF TENSIONS THIS PAST WEEKEND, THAT JAPAN IS DEEPLY TROUBLED AND UNEASY ABOUT THE SITUATION. ONGOING PREPARATIONS FOR EACH HIGH-LEVEL US-JAPAN MEETING SHOULD INCLUDE A CURRENT UP-DATE OF THE STATE OF PLAY BETWEEN SEOUL AND TOKYO.
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